Contents

List of Figures and Abbreviations	11
Acknowledgements	13
Chapter 1 The Puzzle of the ESDP	15
 The Puzzle of St Malo Theoretical Challenges Challenges to European Integration Theory Challenges to IR Theory Institutional Design The Puzzle of EU-NATO Relations 	17 19 19 22 23 24
 3. Historical Institutionalism as an Approach 3.1 New Institutionalism 3.2 Key Points of Historical Institutionalism 3.3 Understanding the ESDP's emergence 3.4 Understanding Institutional Structures 3.5 Understanding the EU-NATO relationship 	26 26 27 28 30 31
 4. Structure and Research Methodology 4.1 Prevailing Themes 4.2 Research Methodology 4.3 Book Structure 	32 32 35 37
Chapter 2 Approaching the Study of the ESDP	39
 What is the ESDP? Approaches to Studying the ESDP The First Debates The End of Civilian Power Europe? Europeanisation: Impacts "up" and "down" The European Security Strategy On the Ground 	40 43 45 47 50 52 54

3.	How We Got Here: Approaching the Study of the Emergence	
	and Development of the ESDP	55
	3.1 Theoretical Considerations: The ESDP as Integration	
	or Cooperation?	56
	3.2 ESDP as Integration	59
	3.3 The ESDP as International Security Cooperation	67
4.	Conclusions	74
Cha	apter 3 Towards an Institutionalist Approach	77
1.	Towards an Institutionalist Approach	78
	1.1 Institutions and the EU	79
	1.2 Institutional Interdependence within the EU	80
	1.3 An Interdependent Polity in an Interdependent World	80
2.	New Institutionalism	83
	2.1 From Old to New Institutionalism	83
	2.2 Understanding Institutions: Three New Institutionalisms	85
3.	Research Methodology	102
	3.1 Process-Tracing	103
4.	Application of Historical Institutionalism to the Study of the	
	ESDP	104
_	4.1 Two Explanatory Streams	107
5.	Conclusions	108
Cha	pter 4 History at Work: Understanding the Emergence of the ESDP	111
1.	The Pre-History of CFSP/ESDP: Dynamics in European	
	Foreign and Security Policy Cooperation, 1945 -1970	112
	1.1 The Early Years and Contemporary Parallels	114
	1.2 The European Defence Community (1950-54)	117
	1.3 The Fouchet Plans: 1960s	120
2.	Learning from Failure; or, a First Success: 1970 – 1990	126
	2.1 Why EPC succeeded	126
	2.2 Institutional and Functional Expansion	128
	2.3 The Western European Union	134
	2.4 Lessons to be Learned	133
3.	External Factors as Dynamics Towards an ESDP:	
	The Role and Impact of External Institutions	130
	3.1 The End of the Cold War: Geopolitical Change	
	and Institutional Competition	136
	3.2 1991-1997: The Common Foreign and Security	
	Policy and Adapting the WEU	138

	3.3 NATO and the Common Joint Task Force Initiative	141
4.	The Importance of Historical Analysis	145
	4.1 The Amsterdam Treaty	145
5.	British Defence Policy 1945-1998: The Blair "Revolution"?	148
	5.1 Continuity in British Defence Policy	148
	5.2 Explaining the Blair Policy Change: 1997-1998	150
	5.3 Broader Changes	154
	5.4 The Policy Shift	156
	5.5 Explanatory Limits	158
6.	Conclusions	158
Cha	apter 5 Explaining the Institutional Design of the ESDP	161
1.	Three Hypotheses on Institutional Design	163
2.	The ESDP Structures	164
	2.1 The Political and Security Committee (PSC / COPS)	164
	2.2 The European Union Military Committee (EUMC)	167
	2.3 The European Union Military Staff (EUMS)	168
	2.4 Committee of Contributors	168
	2.5 Understanding Institutional Design	169
3.	In Search of Isomorphism	170
	3.1 Why not the Western European Union (WEU)?	170
	3.2 Specific Problems with the WEU "Model"	172
	3.3 The WEU Parliamentary Assembly	173
	3.4 Membership Structures	174
4.	NATO as a Model	175
	4.1 The North Atlantic Council (NAC)	176
	4.2 The NATO Military Committee	177
	4.3 The NATO International Military Staff (IMS)	178
	4.4 Other Elements of Isomorphism	178
5.	Making Sense of Institutional Isomorphism	181
	5.1 Mimetic Isomorphism	181
	5.2 Normative Isomorphism	182
	5.3 Coercive Isomorphism	184
	5.4 Rational Institutional Isomorphism	186
6.	Explaining Institutional Differences	187
	6.1 Committee Chairmanships	188
	6.2 Committee Seniority	190
	6.3 Relationship with Coreper	192
	6.4 Committee Structure and "Hierarchy of Concepts"	194
7.	Conclusions	200

Chap	oter 6 EU-NATO Relations: Institutional Interaction in Action	203
1.	Understanding Institutional Interaction	205
	1.1 The "Normal" Approach to the Study of International	
	Institutions	205
	1.2 Finding a Term	208
	1.3 Types of Interaction / Impact	209
	1.4 Reconciling Institutional Overlap	210
2.	EU-NATO Relations	211
۷.	2.1 Increasing Overlap	212
	2.2 Overlapping Scale	213
	2.3 Overlapping Membership	214
	2.4 Overlapping Competence	215
	2.5 Attempts at Reconciliation	218
	2.6 NATO First Refusal?	219
	2.7 Division of Labour	221
3.	Moving Towards Coordination	223
3.	3.1 Berlin Plus	224
	3.2 Institutional Cooperation and Coordination	229
	3.3 The Problems with Berlin Plus	229
		234
4	3.4 Consequences The Lympositive of Coordination, New Machanians	234
4.	The Imperative of Coordination: New Mechanisms	
	4.1 The Emergence of Informal Meetings	236
_	4.2 Informal Document Exchange	238
5.	Conclusions	239
Chap	oter 7 Conclusions: The Insights of Historical Institutionalist Analysis	241
1.	Research Questions	241
	1.1 Understanding the ESDP's emergence	241
	1.2 Institutional Design	243
	1.3 The Relationship with NATO	245
2.	Keeping it in Context: Considerations for Future Research	246
2.	2.1 Taking Time Seriously	246
	2.3 The Role of Isomorphism	249
3.	In the Final Analysis	249
٥.	III the I mai Analysis	247
Refe	rences and Bibliography	251
List	of Interviews	271